

Message Text

PAGE 01 TOKYO 06136 01 OF 02 081429Z

42

ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-05 DLOS-03 IO-10 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01

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R 080923Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9999

INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 6136

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT PFROYHE CH KS

SUBJ: MIKI'S DIET CHALLENGE

SUMMARY. IN PRIMIN MIKI'S FIRST POLICY SPEECH, HE MADE PUBLIC COMMITMENT ON SIX "IMPORTANT" DIET ITEMS. DIET DELIBERATION OF THOSE ITEMS, JUST BEGAN, WILL PROVIDE MIKI'S NEXT CHALLENGE. INCREASING LDP FACTIORAL MANEUVERING AND FADING OPPOSITION PARTY SUPPORT MAKE PASSAGE OF ALL BUT PERHAPS ONE ITEM PROMLEMATIC. NONETHELESS, MIKI'S DIET SUCCESSES (OR FAILURES) WILL HAVE IMPORTANT -- ALTHOUGH NOT CRITICAL -- IMPACT ON HIS IMAGE--AND PROBABLY THAT OF LDP. END SUMMARY.

1. AT OUTSET OF HIS ADMINISTRATION, PRIMIN MIKI MADE PUBLIC COMMITMENT TO SEEK CURRENT DIET RATIFI-
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PAGE 02 TOKYO 06136 01 OF 02 081429Z

CATION OF THREE DIPLOMATIC AGREEMENTS AND PASSAGE OF THREE DOMESTIC LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS --SO-CALLED SIX "IMPORTANT" ITEMS. CREDIBILITY OF THIS PROMISE WAS LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR IMPROVED LDP IMAGE,

FAVORABLE MEDIA COMMENT AND SUBSTANTIAL OPPOSITION PARTY SUPPORT OF MIKI PROGRAM. AT SAME TIME, LDP STRONGMEN, USED TO ELABORATE INTRA-PARTY CONSULTATIONS BEFORE ANY PUBLIC COMMITMENTS, WERE MIFFED BY MIKI'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF WHAT LDP AND DIET WOULD DO.

2. ARTIFICIAL UNITY IMPOSED ON LDP BY NECESSITY TO PASS BUDGET AND RECENT LOCAL ELECTIONS IS NOW UNRAVELING AS JAPANESE POLITICAL SPOTLIGHT SHIFTS TO DIET DELIBERATION OF MIKI'S SIX ITEMS. PROSPECTS FOR PASSAGE HAVE DIMMED MARKEDLY IN PAST TWO WEEKS DUE TO CONTINUING CONTROVERSY RELATED TO ITEMS THEMSELVES, INCREASING FACTIONAL DISSENSION WITHIN LDP AND FADING OPPOSITION PARTY SUPPORT. AS RESULT, ONLY ONE ITEM NOW GIVEN REASONABLE CHANCE OF SUCCESS. MATTER IS FURTHER COMPLICATED BY VIRTUAL CERTAINTY THAT DIET EXTENSION (BEYOND MAY 25) WILL BE NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE PASSAGE OF ANY BILLS.

3. BOX SCORE ON SIX "IMPORTANT" ITEMS FOLLOWS:

A. NPT RATIFICATION. INTRODUCED INTO DIET, BUT SIX CONDITIONS ATTACHED BY LDP HAWKS IN FINAL PARTY DELIBERATIONS (TOKYO 5472), ONE INVOLVING POSSIBLE EMERGENCY INTRODUCTION OF US NUCLEAR WEAPONS INTO JAPAN, HAVE CREATED LDP DISSENSION AND PROMPTED OPPOSITION PARTY SHIFT FROM SUPPORT TO OPPOSITION OVER PAST TWO WEEKS. CHANCES OF PASSAGE CURRENTLY LESS THAN 50 PERCENT.

B. JAPAN-CHINA FRIENDSHIP TREATY. HUNG UP IN NEGOTIATING PHASE WITH CHINESE OVER HEGEMONY ISSUE. LDP SPLIT DOWN THE MIDDLE ON HEGEMONY QUESTION AND, ALTHOUGH OPPOSITION PARTY SUPPORT REMAINS, THEY TOO HAVE INTERNAL DIFFERENCES OVER HEGEMONY ISSUE. AT PRESENT, CONCLUSION OF TREATY TEXT AND INTRODUCTION INTO DIET UNCERTAIN BUT, IF INTRODUCED, THERE IS SLIM POSSIBILITY THAT DESIRE TO PASS THIS TREATY

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PAGE 03 TOKYO 06136 01 OF 02 081429Z

WILL ALSO CARRY ALONG NPT AND JAPAN-KOREA AGREEMENT (DISCUSSED BELOW) WHICH PRECEDE IT ON LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR.

C. JAPAN-SOUTH KOREA CONTINENTAL SHELF AGREEMENT. INTRODUCED INTO MIET, BUT PASSAGE INFORMALLY LINKED TO APPROVAL OF JAPAN-CHINA FRIENDSHIP TREATY. INVOLVED IS TRADEOFF BETWEEN LDP HAWKS WHO FAVOR KOREA AGREEMENT AND DOVES WHO PUSHING FOR CHINA PACT. OUTLOOK UNCERTAIN.

D. ANTI-MONOPOLY BILL. INTRODUCED INTO DIET BILL PROVIDES FOR SUBSTANTIAL FINES IN CASES OF CARTEL-LIKE MARKET SHARES OR PRICING PRACTICES. IN CAREFULLY DEFINED CIRCUMSTANCES, FORCED

DIVESTITURE ALSO POSSIBLE. ALTHOUGH BUSINESS STILL FEARFUL, BILL HAS BEEN WATERED DOWN TO POINT WHERE CONSUMER GROUPS NOW DISSATISFIED, AND ORIGINAL OPPOSITION PARTY SUPPORT HAS DISAPPEARED. OMINOUSLY, LDP VICE PRESIDENT SHINA HAS SAID PUBLICLY IT WOULD NOT PASS (TOKYO 5092). FORECAST: BLEAK.

E. POLITICAL FUNDS CONTROL BILL. INTRODUCED INTO DIET, BILL WOULD SET GENEROUS LIMITS -- BUT LIMITS STILL -- ON INDIVIDUAL, CORPORATE AND LABOR UNION CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIVIDUAL POLITICIANS, FACTIONS, RELATED ORGANIZATIONS AND PARTIES. CONTENTS STILL SUBJECT TO GREAT CONTROVERSY WITHIN LDP AND OPPOSITION PARTIES. PASSAGE UNLIKELY.

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 06136 02 OF 02 081029Z

12
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 6136

F. ELECTION REDISTRICTING BILL. INTRODUCED INTO DIET, BILL WOULD ENLARGE CURRENT 491 SEAT LOWER HOUSE TO 511 SEATS, MOSTLY IN TOKYO AND OSAKA AREAS. CURRENT ESTIMATES INDICATING LDP WOULD GAIN ONLY FIVE OR SIX OF TWENTY NEW SEATS MAKE ITS SUPPORT LUKI-WARM AT BEST. FURTHER PROVISION BANNING FREE DISTRIBUTION OF KOMEITO AND JCP PARTY ORGANS AT ELECTION TIME CAUSES THEIR OPPOSITION. CHANCES OF PASSAGE: BETTER THAN EVEN, BUT WILL PROBABLY REQUIRE DIET EXTENSION.

4. COMMENT. GIVEN MIKI'S POSITION OF WEAKNESS WITHIN LDP, WHICH ISSUES HE CHOOSES TO TAKE UP AND HOW HE HANDLES THEM WILL BE UNUSUALLY IMPORTANT DETERMINANT

OF HIS FINAL SUCCESS. GOING FOR HIM ARE RECENTLY
REAFFIRMED FAKUDA FACTION SUPPORT, APPARENT
STEADINESS OF NAKASONE FACTION, CONTINUING MEDIA
SYMPATHY AND STILL IMPRESSIVE POPULAR SUPPORT. ON
NEGATIVE SIDE ARE INCREASING UNRULINESS OF DISSIDENT
(ANTI-MAINSTREAM) FACTIONS, LIKELIHOOD THIS
FACTIONAL IN-FIGHTING WILL FURTHER COMPLICATE DIET
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PAGE 02 TOKYO 06136 02 OF 02 081029Z

DELIBERATIONS, LOSS OF OPPOSITION PARTY SUPPORT
FOR MOST ITEMS AND ALMOST CERTAIN NECESSITY TO
EXTEND DIET SESSION.

5. CONSENSUS HERE IS THAT MIKI WILL BE LUCKY IF HE
GETS ONE OR TWO ITEMS THROUGH CURRENT DIET EVEN IF
EXTENDED. WHICH ITEMS THEY WILL BE WILL DEPEND
IN PART ON PRIORITIES HE SETS OVER NEXT WEEK OR SO,
BUT MANY, PERHAPS DECISIVE, ELEMENTS WILL REMAIN
OUTSIDE HIS CONTROL. WHAT DOES DEEM CLEAR IS THAT
EXTENT OF MIKI'S SUCCESS (OR FAILURE) IS LIKELY TO
HAVE IMPORTANT -- ALTHOUGH NOT CRITICAL -- IMPACT ON
MIKI AND LDP IMAGE IN MEDIA REPORTING AND PUBLIC
MIND.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: LAW, AGREEMENTS, CENTRAL LEGISLATURE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 08 MAY 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: johnsorg
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975TOKYO06136
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750161-1112
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197505100/baaaafiw.tel
Line Count: 191
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: johnsorg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23 APR 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <17 NOV 2003 by johnsorg>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, CH, KS, JA, (MIKI, TAKEO)
To: STATE INFO TAIPEI
SEOUL
HONG KONG
PEKING
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
Type: TE

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006